1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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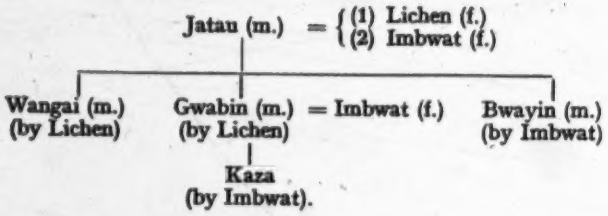
a result of such inheritance is illustrated in the following example :—




On the death of his father (Jatau), Gwabin inherited Imbwat, and begat a son Kaza. Bwayin thus occupied the double position of being Kaza's paternal uncle and also his half-brother by the same mother. How did Kaza address Bwayin? The answer was that although Kaza might refer to Bwayin as *nanyuk* (brother) he was bound to address him as *atio* (father) on the ground (*a*) that Bwayin might succeed Gwabin one day as head of Kaza's household, (*b*) that Kaza might one day inherit Bwayin's widow, and (*c*) that Bwayin may not "play" with Kaza's wife. Gwabin, who has now become the husband of Bwayin's mother, continues to call Bwayin his "brother" (*nanyuk*). On the other hand, Wangai, who formerly called Imbwat *ayang* or "mother", now calls her *aviyuk* or "wife", and if Gwabin dies he may inherit her. It is noteworthy that a man addresses his father's co-wife as "mother" until he inherits her. This does not bear out Dr. Rivers' contention that the fact that men address one another as parents and children provides the clearest of all possible indications that they are ineligible as consorts in marriage.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the relationship terminology, a few words may be said about the playmate relationship and the use of personal names. The playmate relationship is a social institution found among many primitive peoples, notably those of Africa, Melanesia, and North America. It is practised among certain classes of relatives between whom the strict rules of etiquette governing social intercourse are so relaxed that they display towards one another an attitude of joking familiarity. In Nigeria and among most Negro peoples the principal relatives

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 39.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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602 603 who stand to each other in this relationship are usually grandparents and grandchildren (in the classificatory sense), and certain relatives by marriage (e.g. a man and his wife's younger brother). Ortho-cousins are not, as a rule, "playmates," but [605] cross-cousins frequently are. Among the Katab a playmate is known as *pandang shong* (or *pandang dunu*, or *tabunu*). A grandchild is *pandang shong* with his father's or mother's parents and their brothers and sisters. If he goes to his grandfather's house the latter will say: "Well, what has brought you here; have you come to try and rob me of my wife?" To which he will reply: "She is my wife, not yours; you are too old." His grandmother will then join in and say: "Yes, but you are no good as a husband, you have no money and no grain in your granary; you can scarcely support yourself, much less a wife!" And so the banter goes on. Remarks of this character are exchanged between the lad and his maternal grandparents as well as his paternal grandparents, though he cannot inherit the widow of a maternal grandparent. Similarly, a man is playmate with the mother of his father, though he cannot inherit and marry her. A grandson may appropriate any articles of property 602 which are not too valuable from his paternal grandfather. A 607 Katab, again, is a playmate of his brother's wife, whom indeed he salutes as "wife" and will twit with some such remark as "You are very good at cooking food for your husband, and yet you cook nothing at all for me; am I not your husband too?" To which she will reply, "Oh, very well, I'll see what I can do, husband of mine!" He may then say: "I, your husband! and yet you are going off to sleep with your husband and leave me to a lonely bed!" These remarks are made possible by the practice of the senior and junior levirate marriage. A potential marriage-relationship does not, however, always connote a playmate-relationship, for it would be considered highly indecent for a man to address any of his father's co-wives in the manner just described, even though one day he may enter into marital relations with her.

602 A Katab appears to be, to some extent, on playmate terms with all his cousins,[1] but he will never play with a female cousin [605] whose potential guardian he is, that is to say, whom he will one day give in marriage. This is noteworthy as showing that

[1] But ortho-cousins are only playmates in a modified sense.